



# **A Life Course Framework for Improving the Lives of Boys and Men of Color**

---

**Arnold Chandler | Forward Change Consulting**

# Overview

1. Why a Focus on (Gender) Boys and Men of Color (BMOC)?: **A Gender-Specific Cycle of Intergenerational Disadvantage**
2. A Life Course Framework for Improving the Lives of Disadvantaged Populations: **Interrupting the Cycle**

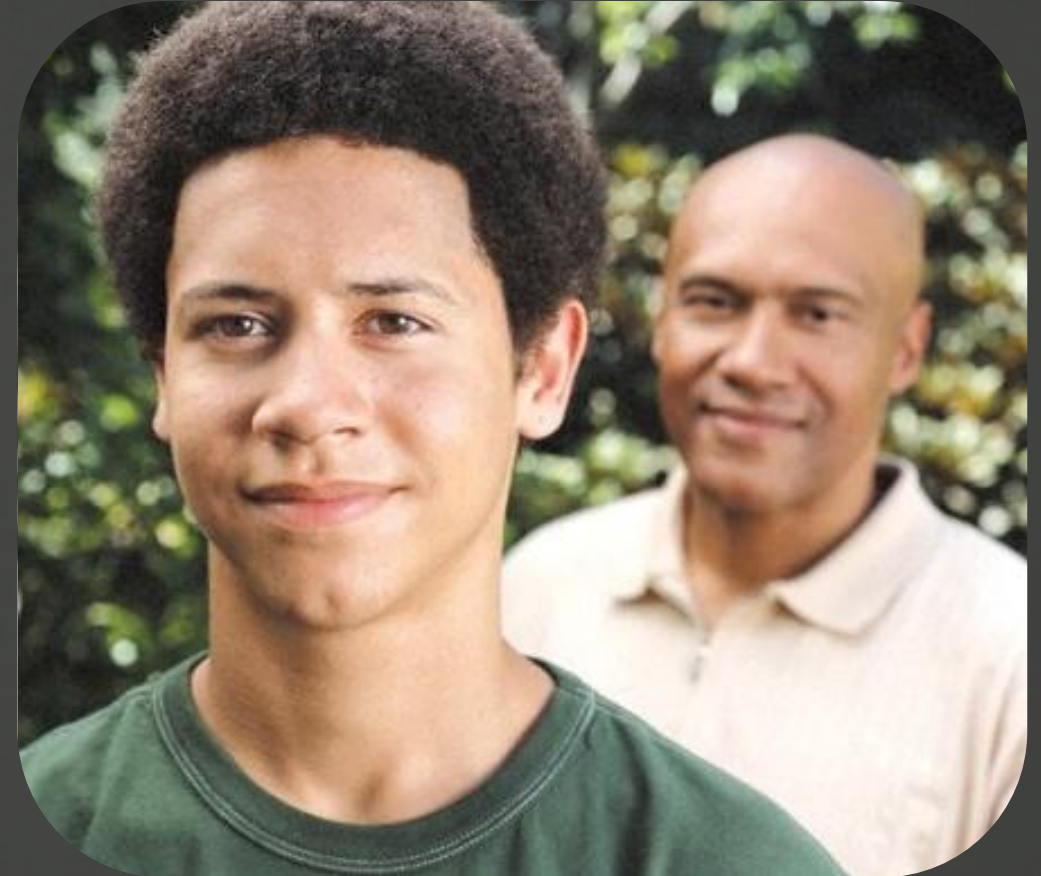
# Things to keep in mind about gender disparities.

1. Girls Doing Better Doesn't Mean They're Doing Well
2. The Lives of Males and Females are inextricably intertwined
3. Disadvantage operates in gender-specific ways

# Why Focus on Boys and Men of Color?

# Why Focus on BMOC?

- **Gross disparities in particular negative outcomes:** *Violence victimization and offending, crime and incarceration.*
- **Males of color are showing negative or stagnant trends in key opportunity outcomes relative to females:** *Employment and Earnings, High school graduation, college enrollment and completion*
- **A vicious cycle of intergenerational male disadvantage:** *Disadvantaged families are disproportionately more damaging to male educational outcomes than females.*



# Declining Employment and Earnings

# Demand-Side Shifts in Employment



**Declining  
Employment  
and Earnings**

**Technological Change**

**Off-shoring of middle-skill jobs and  
import competition (China)**

**Decline in Unions**

**Suburbanization of low-skilled jobs  
("spatial mismatch")**

**Legal discrimination against felons**

**Illegal Employment Discrimination in  
Low-Wage Jobs**

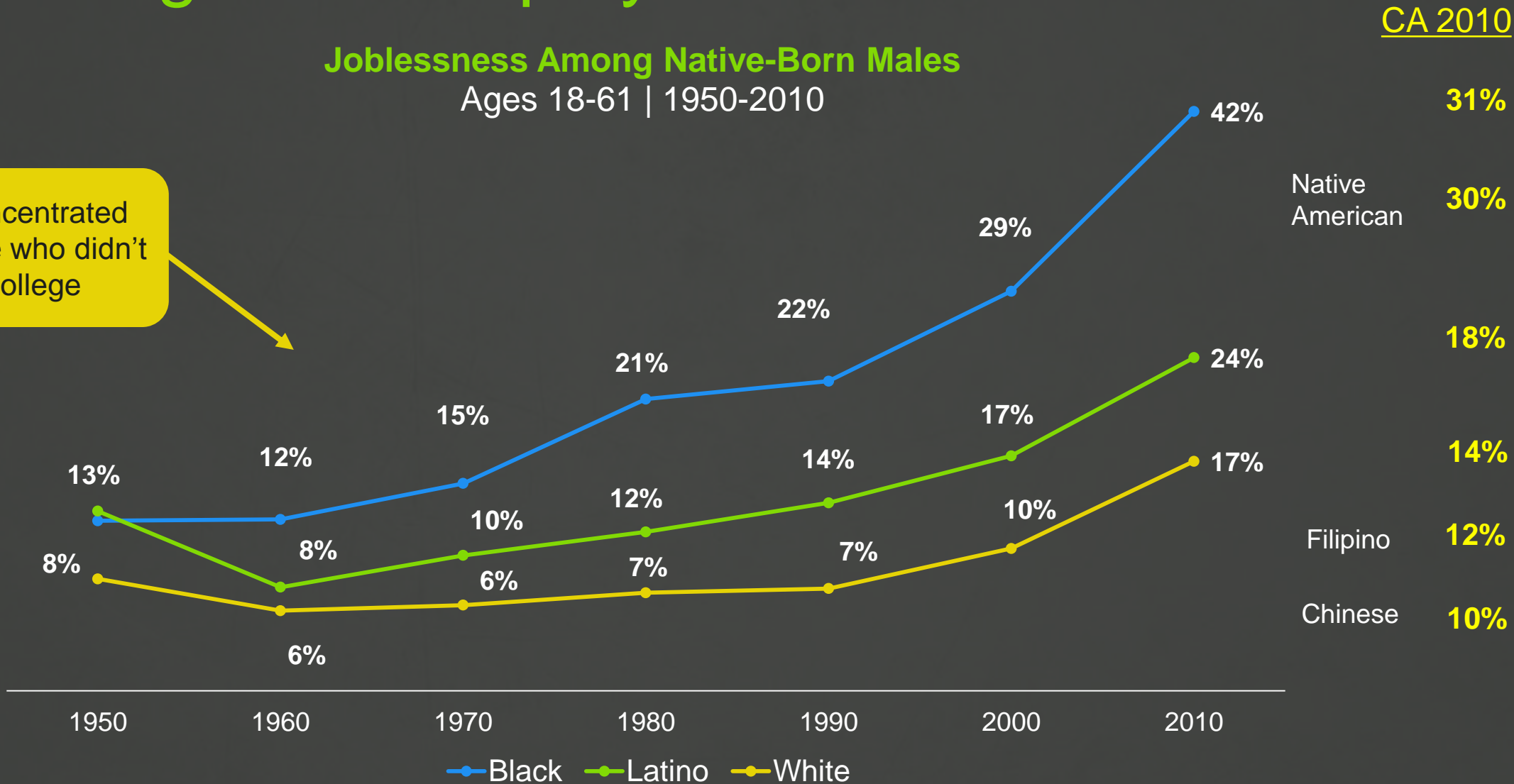


# Declining Male Employment

## Joblessness Among Native-Born Males

Ages 18-61 | 1950-2010

Heavily concentrated  
among those who didn't  
attend college



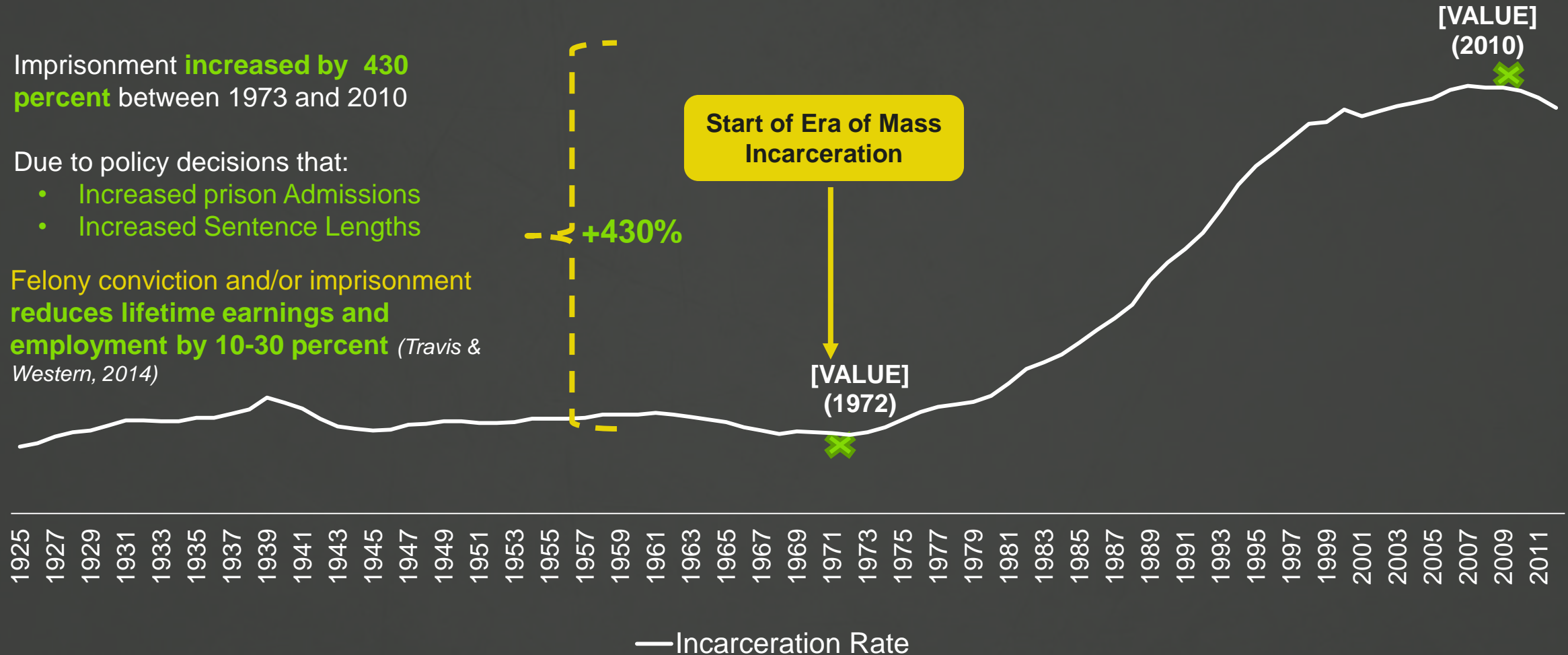


# Mass Incarceration and Declining Employment and Earnings

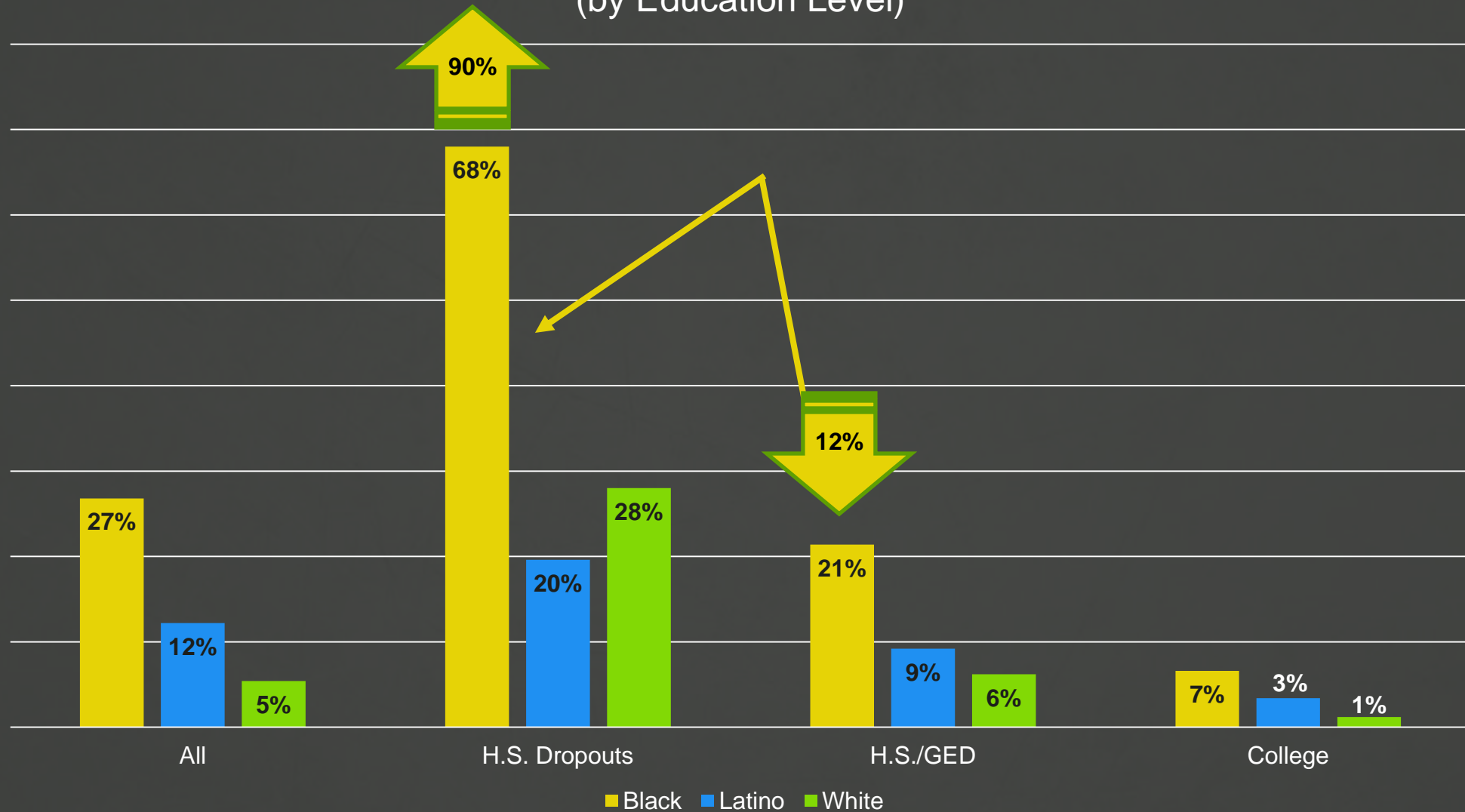
## Historical Incarceration Rates (1925-2012) (State and Federal Prisoners per 100K Population)

2.3 million in prisons  
or jails (2012) BJS

- Imprisonment **increased by 430 percent** between 1973 and 2010
- Due to policy decisions that:
  - Increased prison Admissions
  - Increased Sentence Lengths
- Felony conviction and/or imprisonment **reduces lifetime earnings and employment by 10-30 percent** (Travis & Western, 2014)



## Lifetime Risk of Imprisonment by Age 35 for Males in 2010 (by Education Level)



# Native Born vs. Foreign Born Incarceration

National Incarceration Rates by Nativity (2000)  
Ages 18-39

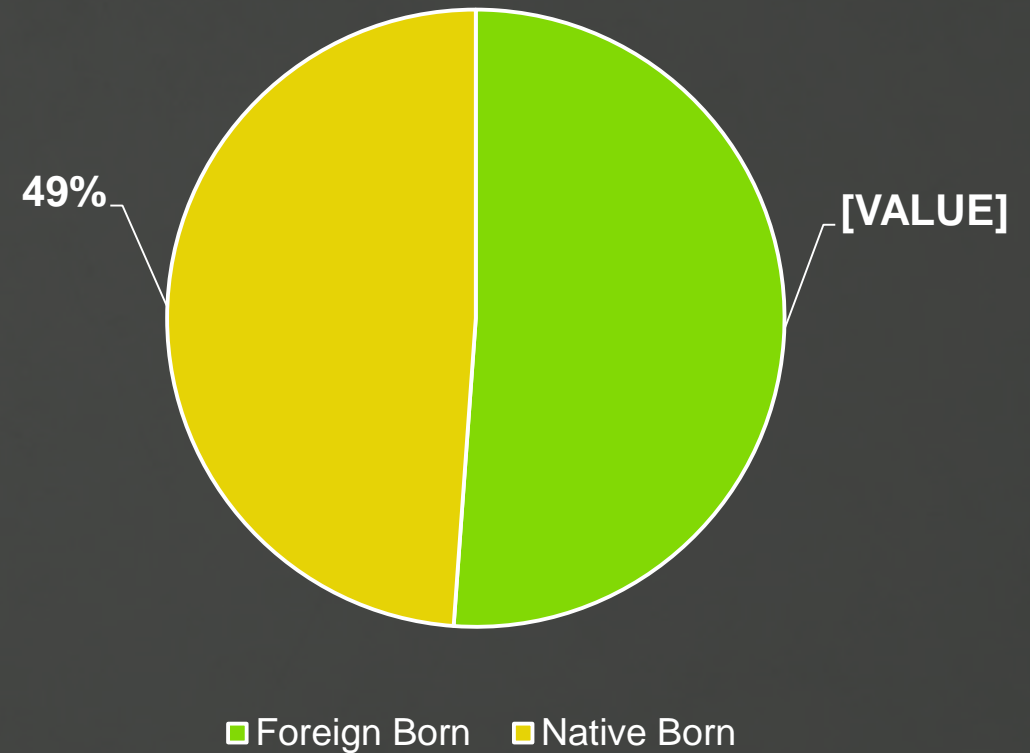
**Mexican:** 90% of incarcerated males are native born

**Salvadoran, Guatemalan:** 85% of incarcerated males are native born

**Colombian:** 75% of incarcerated are native born

**Ecuadorian,  
Peruvian**

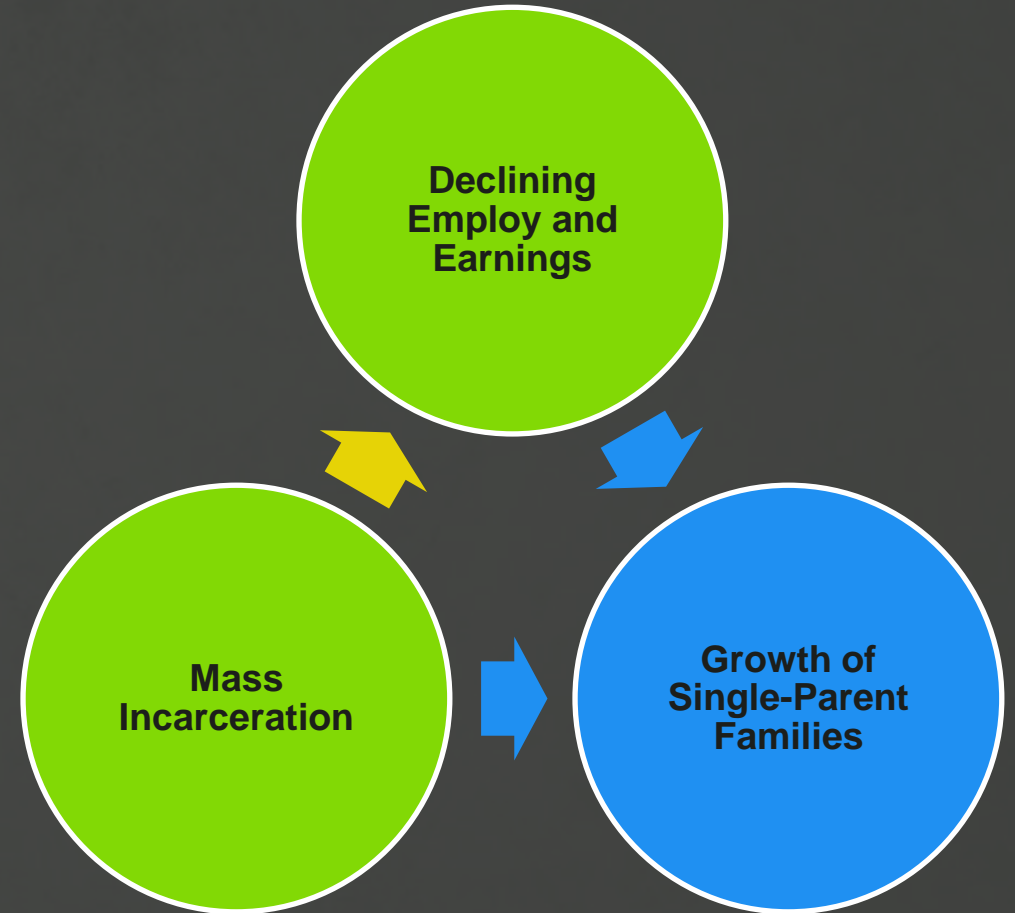
Share of Adult Male Population (18+)



# Rise of Disadvantaged Families

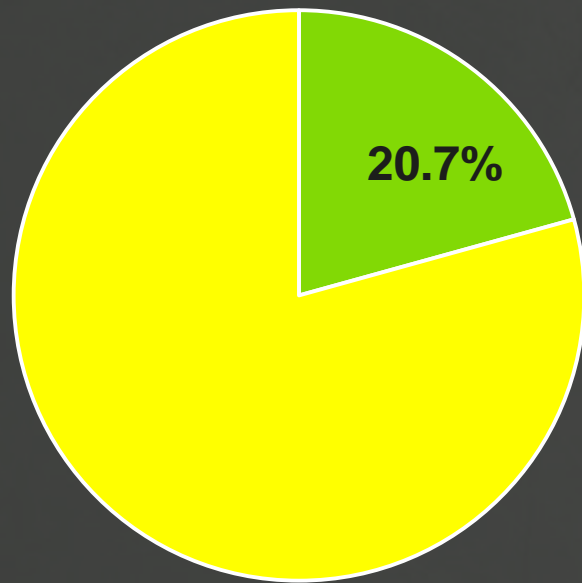
# »»» Rise of Single Parent Families

- The decline in “working class” family in America and the class divide in family formation due to broad economic and cultural changes (*Cherlin, 2014*)
- Decline of “marriageable males” and imbalanced sex ratios (83 black men for every 100 black women) (*Wilson, 1996, Wolfers et al. 2015*)
- Incarceration reduces male parental involvement post-release (*Travis and Western, 2014*)

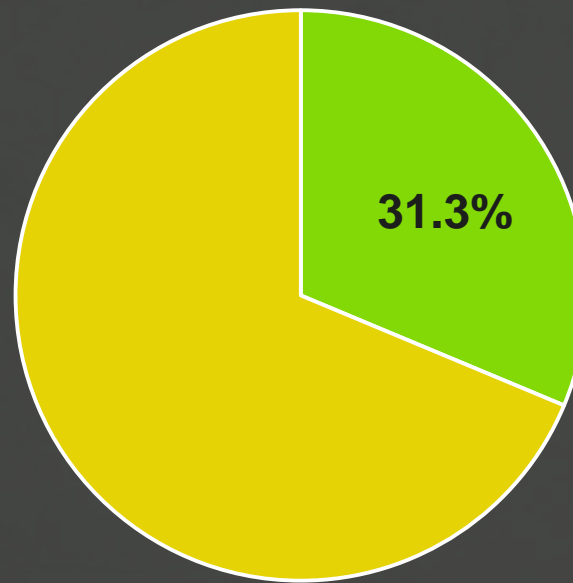


# Children Living in Single Parent Families

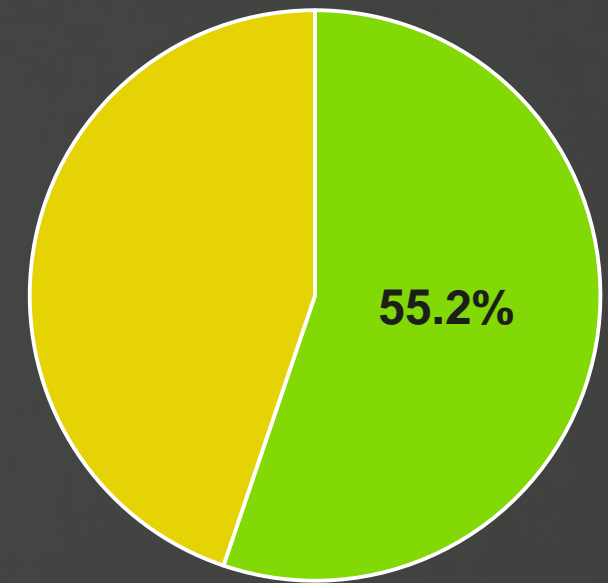
In 2012, the Percentage of Children Living in Single Parent Families



White Children



Latino Children



Black Children

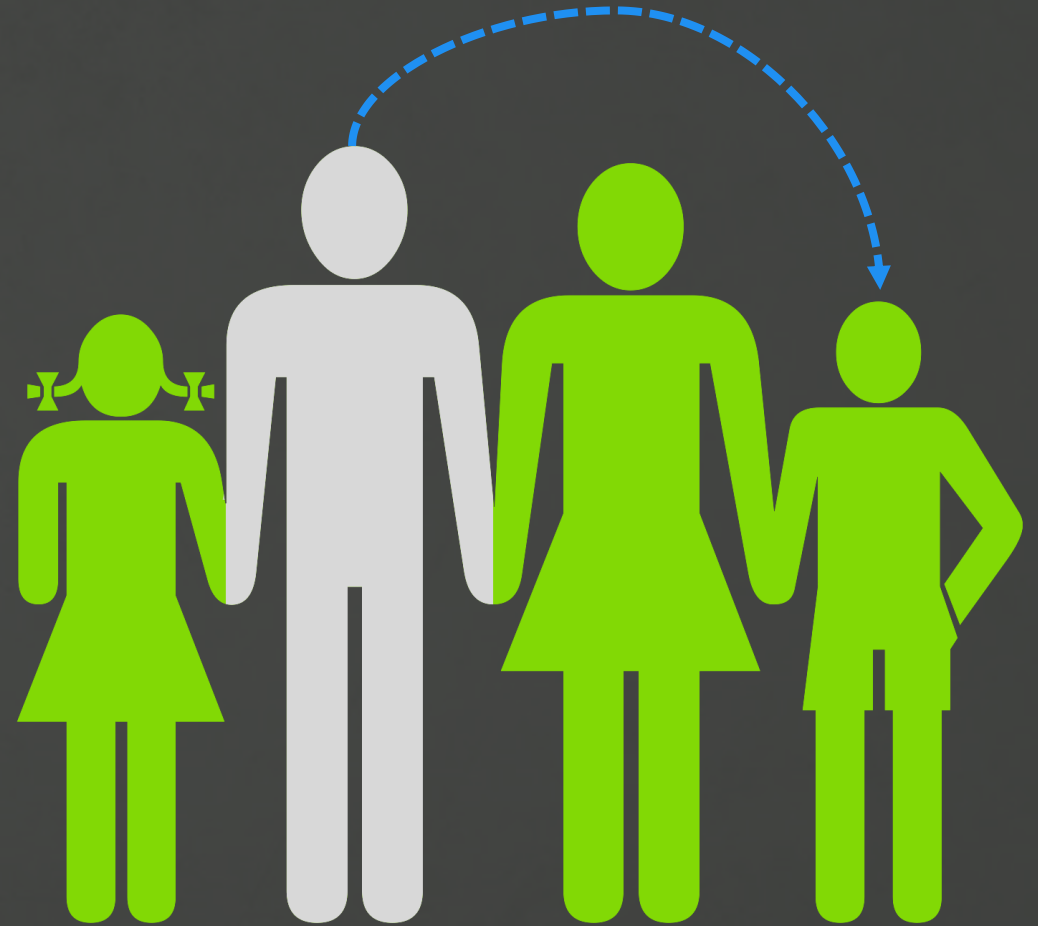


## Gender-Specific Effects of Family Disadvantage on Educational Outcomes

# Gender-Specific Effects of Family Disadvantage on Educational Outcomes

## Growing up in a single-parent family:

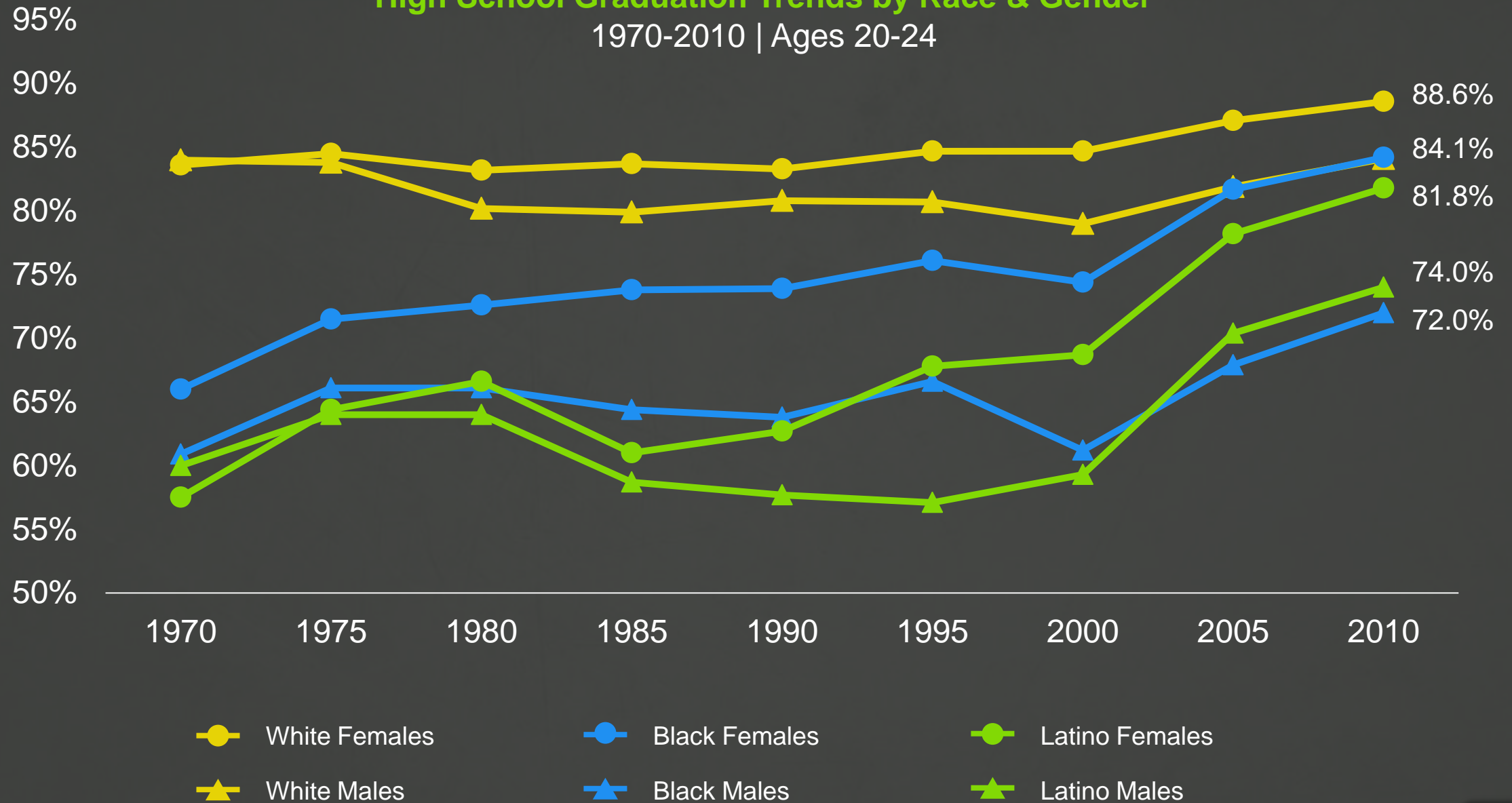
- Reduces college attendance for boys, but not for girls (*Jacob, 2002*)
- Increases juvenile delinquency among boys, but not girls (*Cobb-Clark, 2011*)
- Increases behavior problems significantly more among boys than girls (*Bertrand and Pan, 2011*)
- Causes behavioral and academic outcomes between boys and girls to substantially diverge starting in Kindergarten: Based on a sample of 1 million Florida kids (*Autor, 2015*)
- Causes a reversal of gender gap in the likelihood that males will work compared to girls. Boys raised in single parent families work less than girls as adults: Based on a U.S. sample of 10 million children. (*Chetty, 2016*)



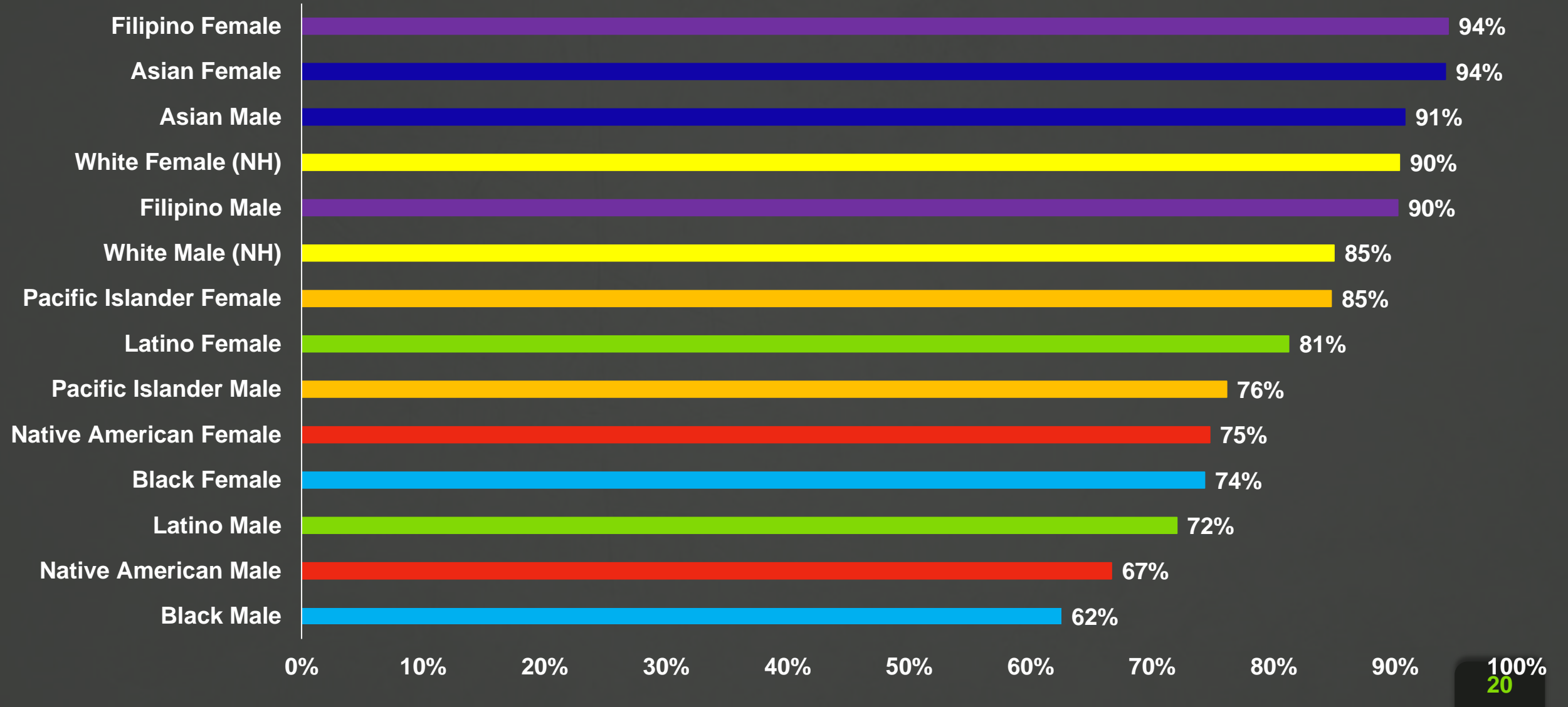
# Stagnant Male Educational Attainment

## High School Graduation Trends by Race & Gender

1970-2010 | Ages 20-24

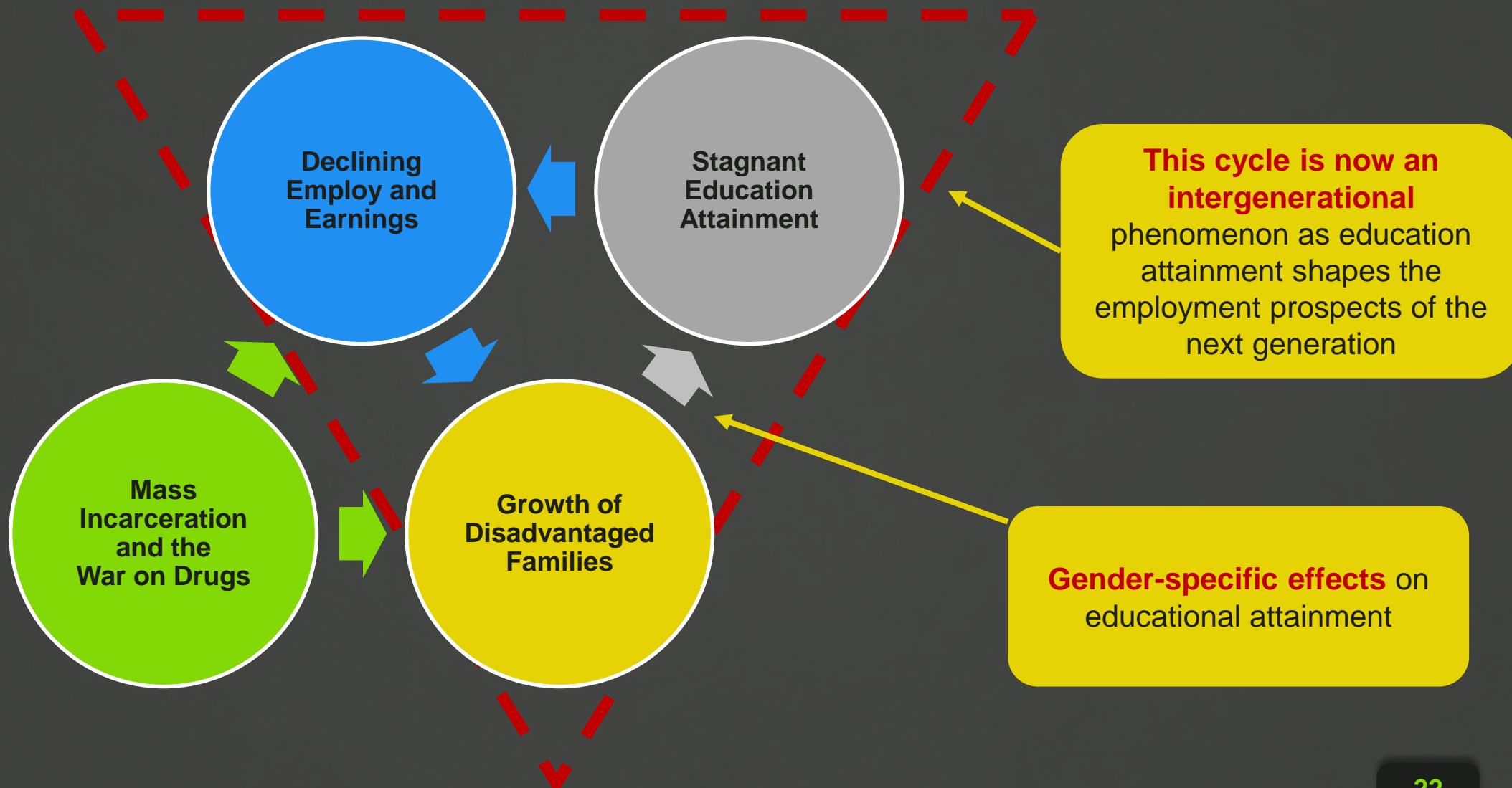


# California High School Graduation Rate 2013-14



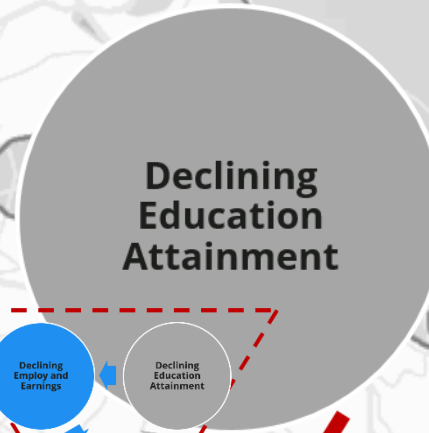
## A Vicious Cycle of Intergenerational Male Disadvantage

# >>> A Vicious Cycle of Male Intergenerational Disadvantage





## Oakland, CA



There are **12-14 million** formerly incarcerated individuals residing in US Neighborhoods

**Mass Criminalization**  
(War on Drugs and Incarceration)

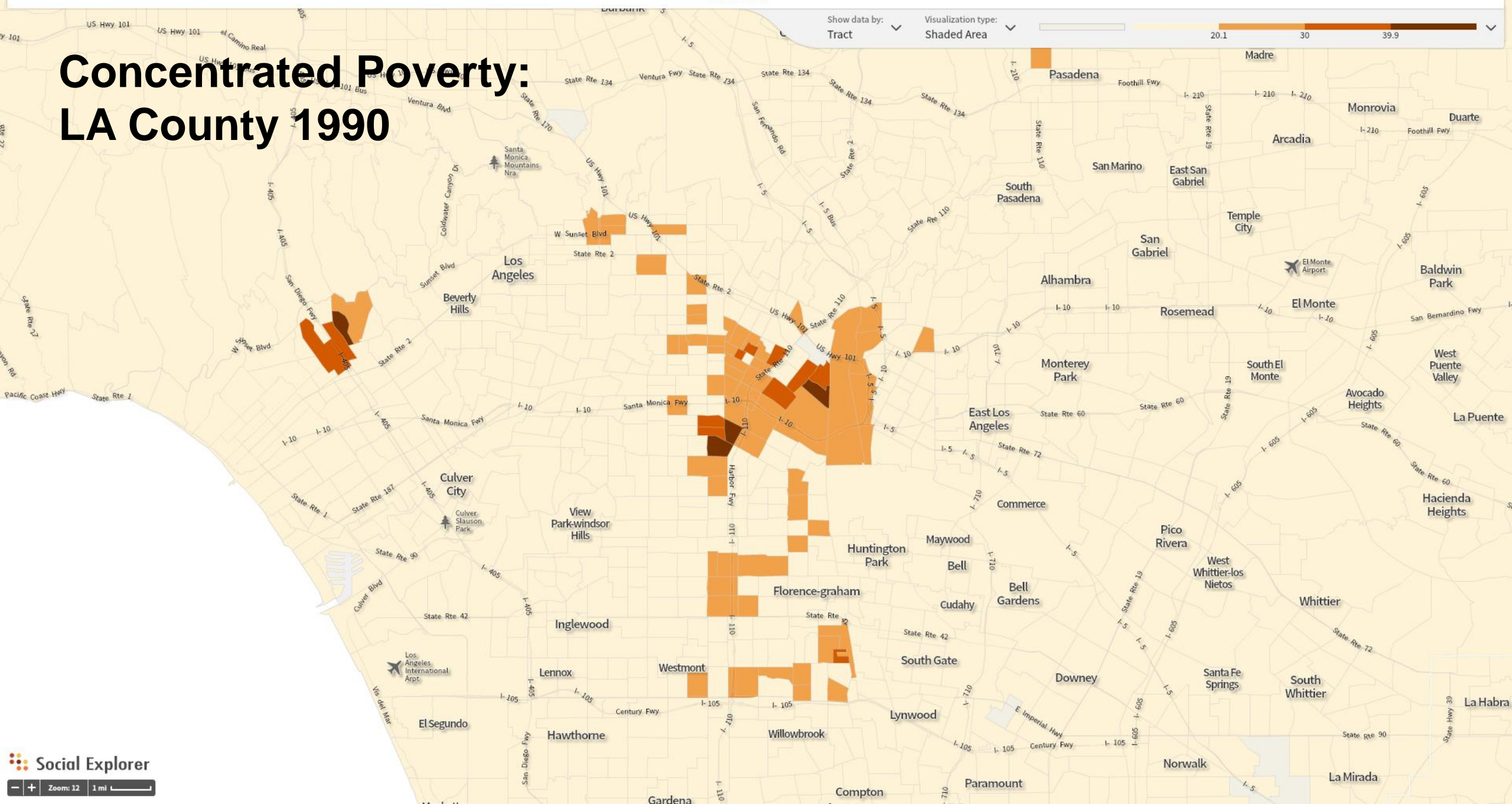
Rise of concentrated disadvantage

- Poor neighborhoods are **over-policed** through aggressive drug enforcement and order-maintenance policing and **under-protected** from violence due to reduced “police legitimacy” and police effectiveness with regard to violent crime
- Mass incarceration is also concentrated** (Clear, 2007)

- The rise of **concentrated poverty and jobless ghettos** since the early 1970s (Wilson, 1996)
- Concentration of negative factors associated with poverty** like crime, violence, poor school quality, drugs, disinvestment (Massey, 2007)

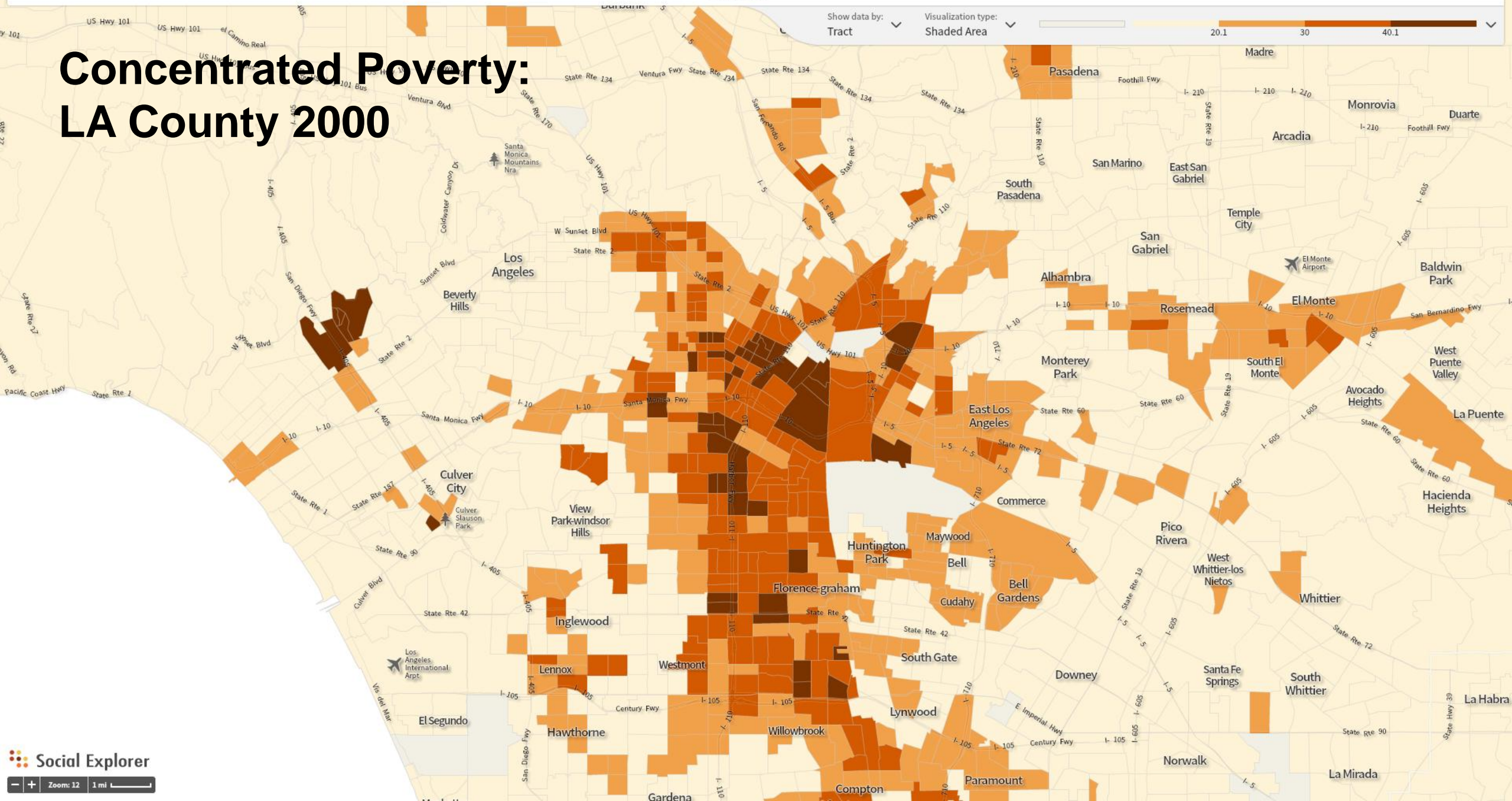
Persons for whom poverty status is determined: Income in 1989 below poverty level: 18 to 64 years  
Census 1990

# Concentrated Poverty: LA County 1990





# Concentrated Poverty: LA County 2000





Population Age 18 to 64 for whom poverty status is determined: Living in Poverty

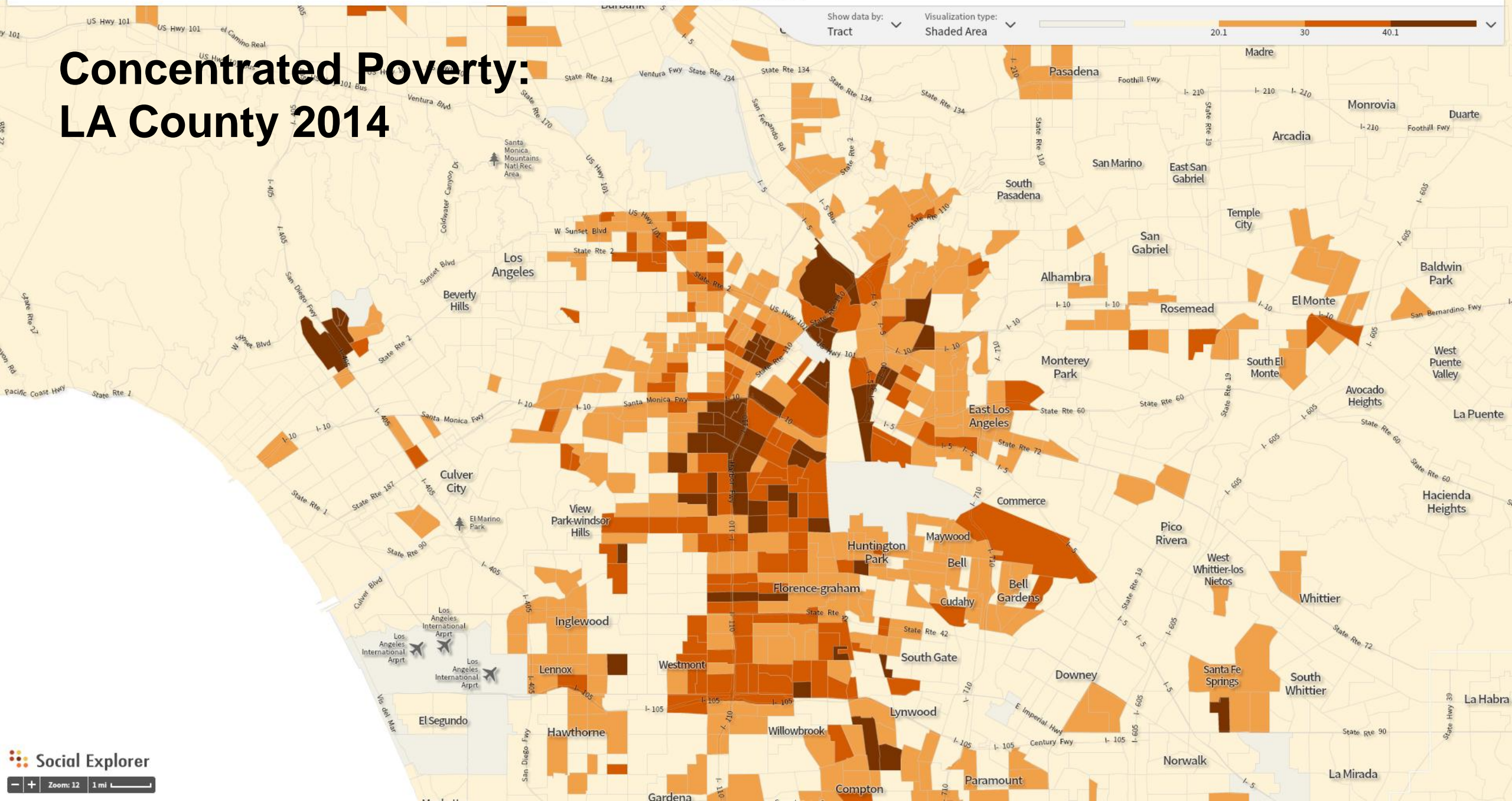
ACS 2014 (5-Year Estimates)

Show data by:  
Tract

Visualization type:  
Shaded Area

20.1 30 40.1

# Concentrated Poverty: LA County 2014



# »» Racial & Economic Segregation in LA County

- LA County ranks in the 99<sup>th</sup> percentile of U.S. counties on Latino-White Segregation (dissimilarity)
- LA County ranks in the 93<sup>rd</sup> percentile of U.S. counties in Black-White Segregation (dissimilarity)
- LA County ranks in the 96<sup>th</sup> percentile in Income Segregation





## 2010 Census Block Data

1 Dot = 1 Person

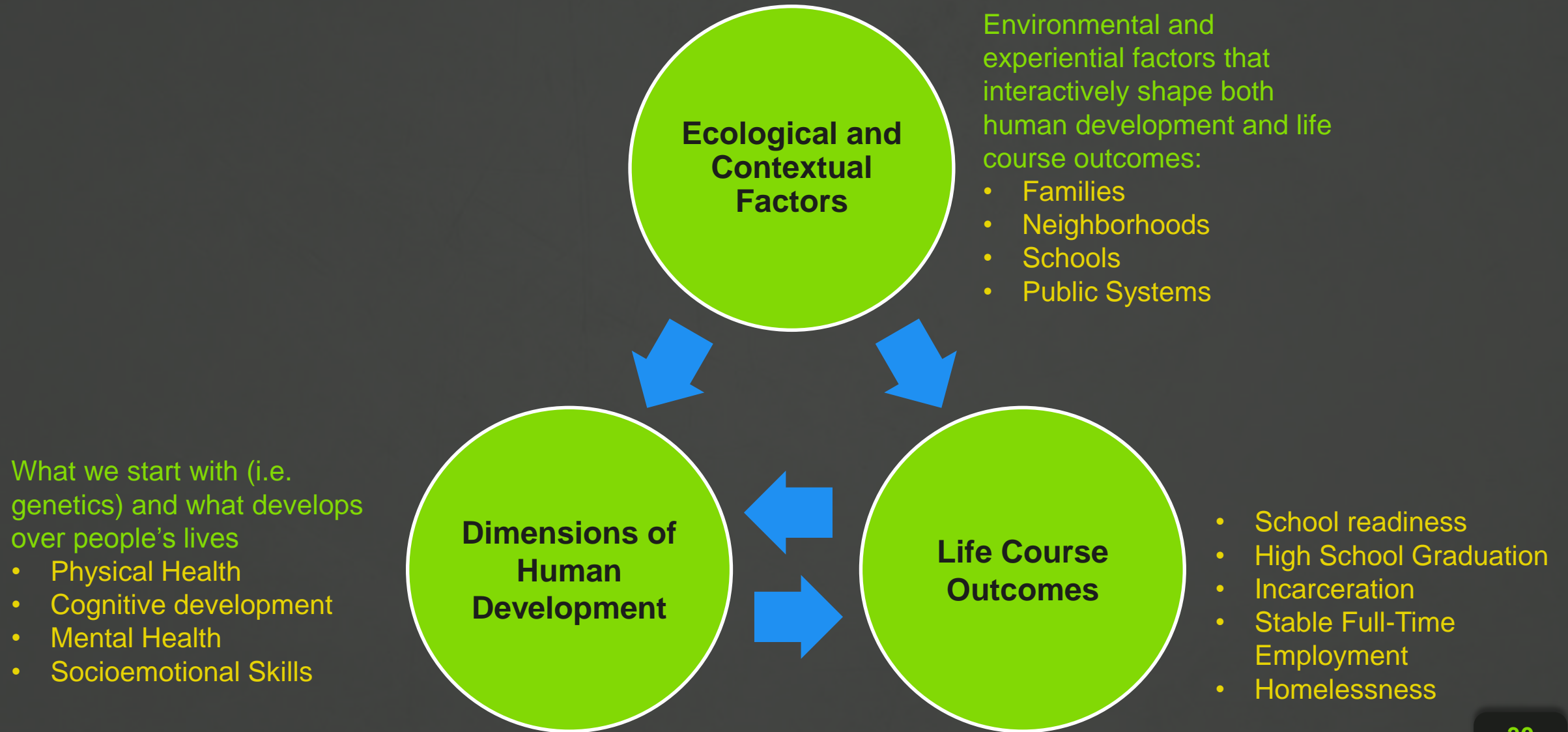
- White
- Black
- Asian
- Hispanic
- Other Race / Native American / Multi-racial



A Life Course Framework for Improving the  
Lives of Disadvantaged Populations:  
**Interrupting the Cycle**



# Overview of Framework Components



# Dimensions of Human Development

**Physical Health:** genetic predisposition; motor-visual-auditory dev, morbidity, brain development, **biological embedding of social adversity and toxic substance exposures:** chronic adversity, allostatic load/toxic stress, environmental toxin exposure (e.g. air pollution, lead poisoning, etc.), epigenetics, basal cortisol levels

**Cognitive Development:** intelligence, information processing, language, numeracy, literacy, **executive functions** (e.g. **memory, attention, reasoning, problem solving**), mathematical reasoning, scientific thinking, verbal and written communication skills

**Mental Health and Sense of Well-Being:** **secure attachment**, trauma, happiness/contentment, hope, self-esteem/mastery, stigma stress, mood disorders, schizophrenia, psychosis

**Personality:** Openness, Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, Neuroticism

**Socioemotional Development:** Emotion and behavior regulation; autonomy; determination; self-monitoring/meta-cognition

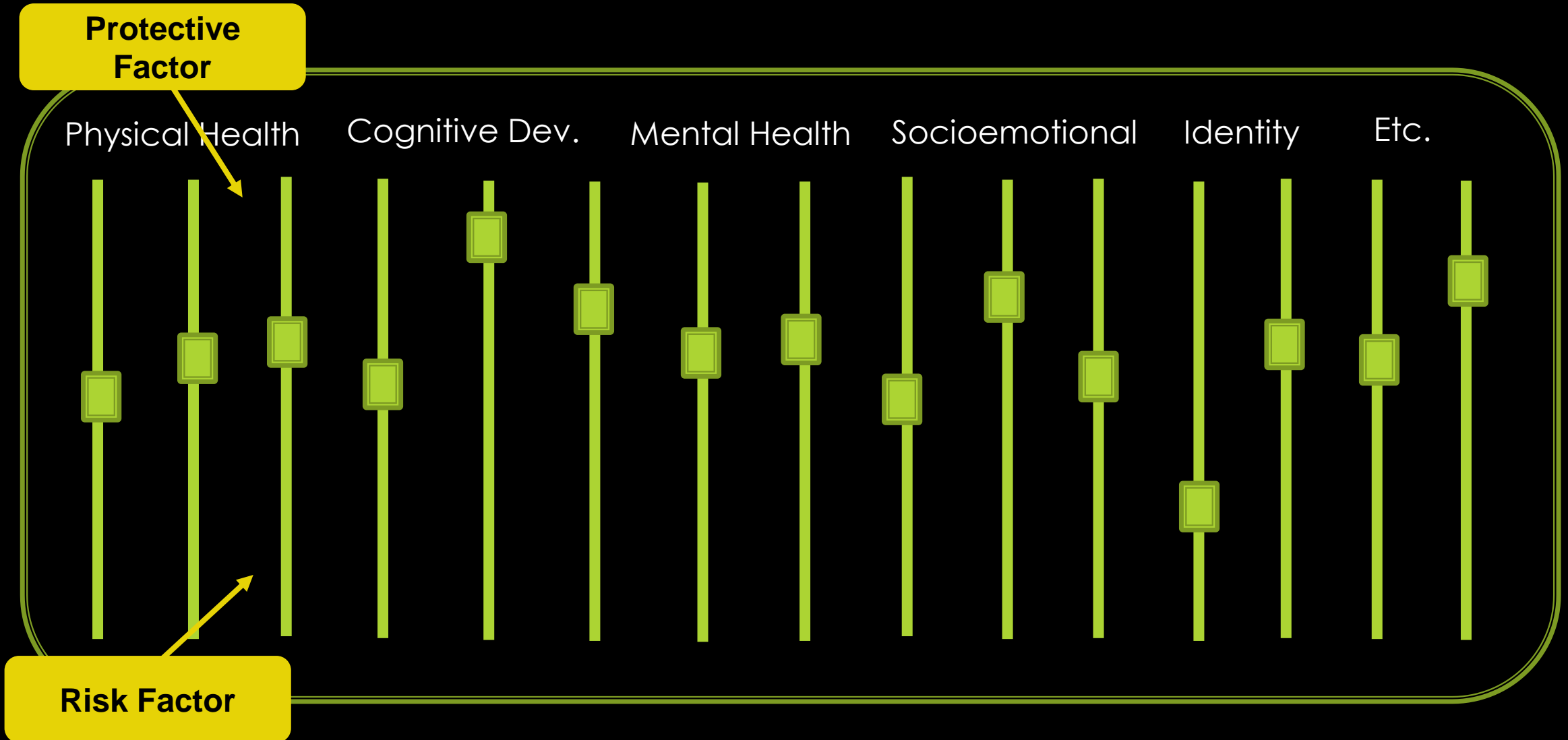
**Identity Development:** **Self-concept**, Self-Awareness, **Mindset**, self-efficacy, gender identity, sexual identity, cultural orientation/attachment

**Content and Cultural Knowledge:** Declarative, procedural and evaluative content and cultural knowledge.

**Moral Development:** conscience and moral agency, moral judgment, **moral reasoning, altruism, empathy, moral action/behavior** (Prosocial behavior), moral emotion, moral character (i.e. virtue, ethics)



# Dimensions of Human Development



Society, Culture & History  
Institutions and Public Systems  
Place  
Peers, Mentors and Networks  
Schools and Childcare  
Family

ON TRACK

OFF TRACK

0-5

6-11

12-18

19-25

26-35

Physical Health

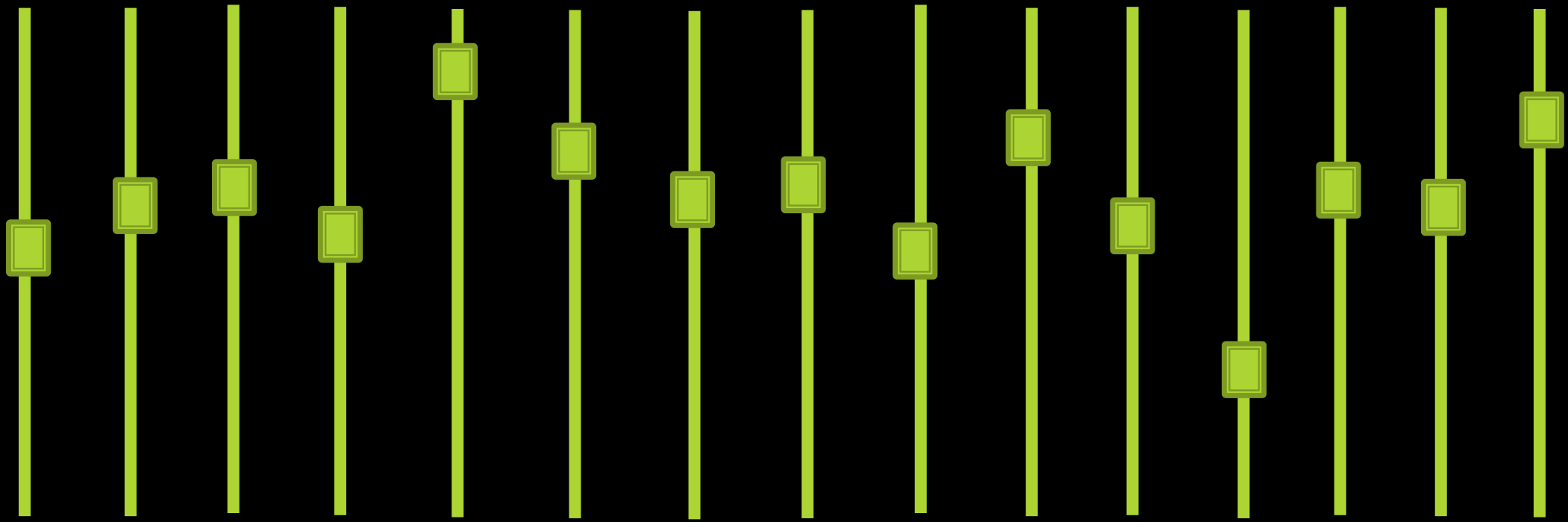
Cognitive Dev.

Mental Health

Socioemotional

Identity

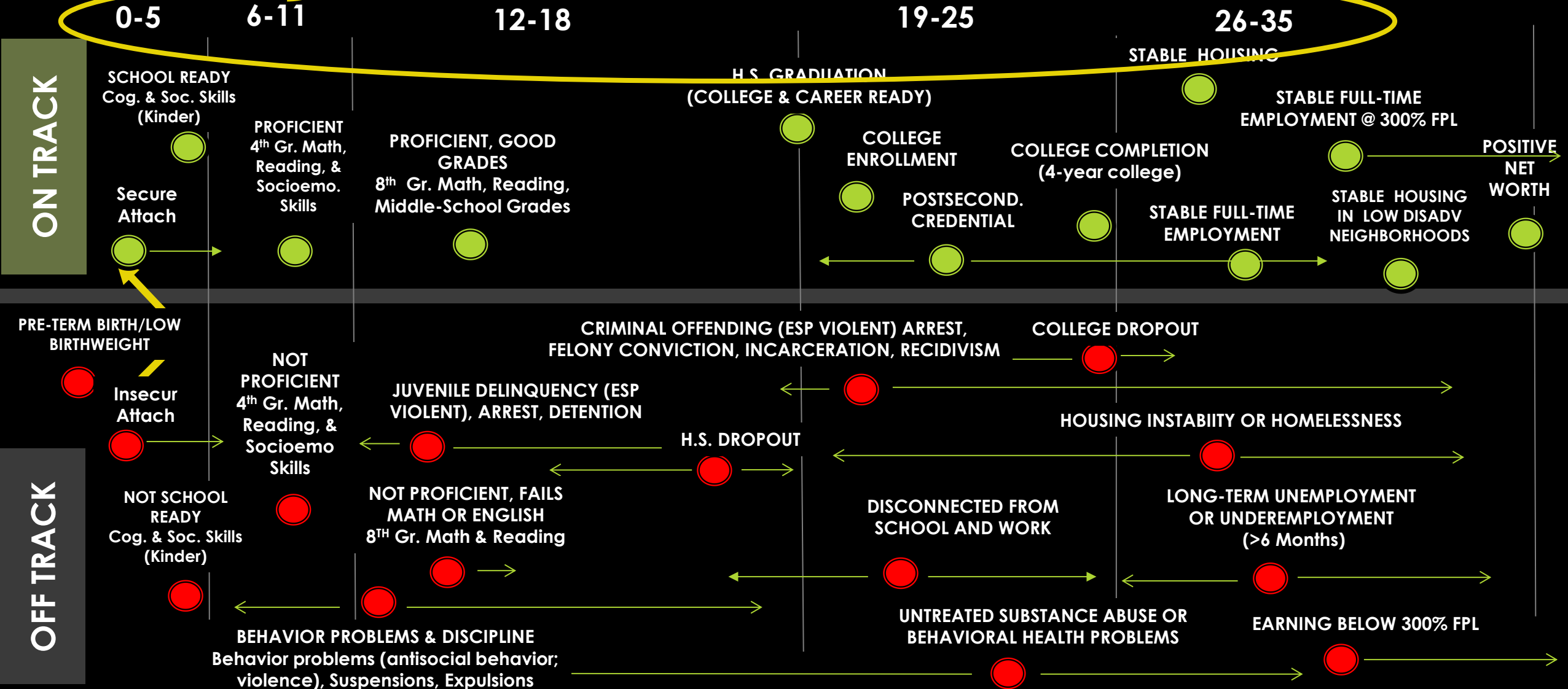
Etc.



Society, Culture & History  
Institutions and Public Systems  
Place  
Peers, Mentors and Networks  
Schools and Childcare  
Family

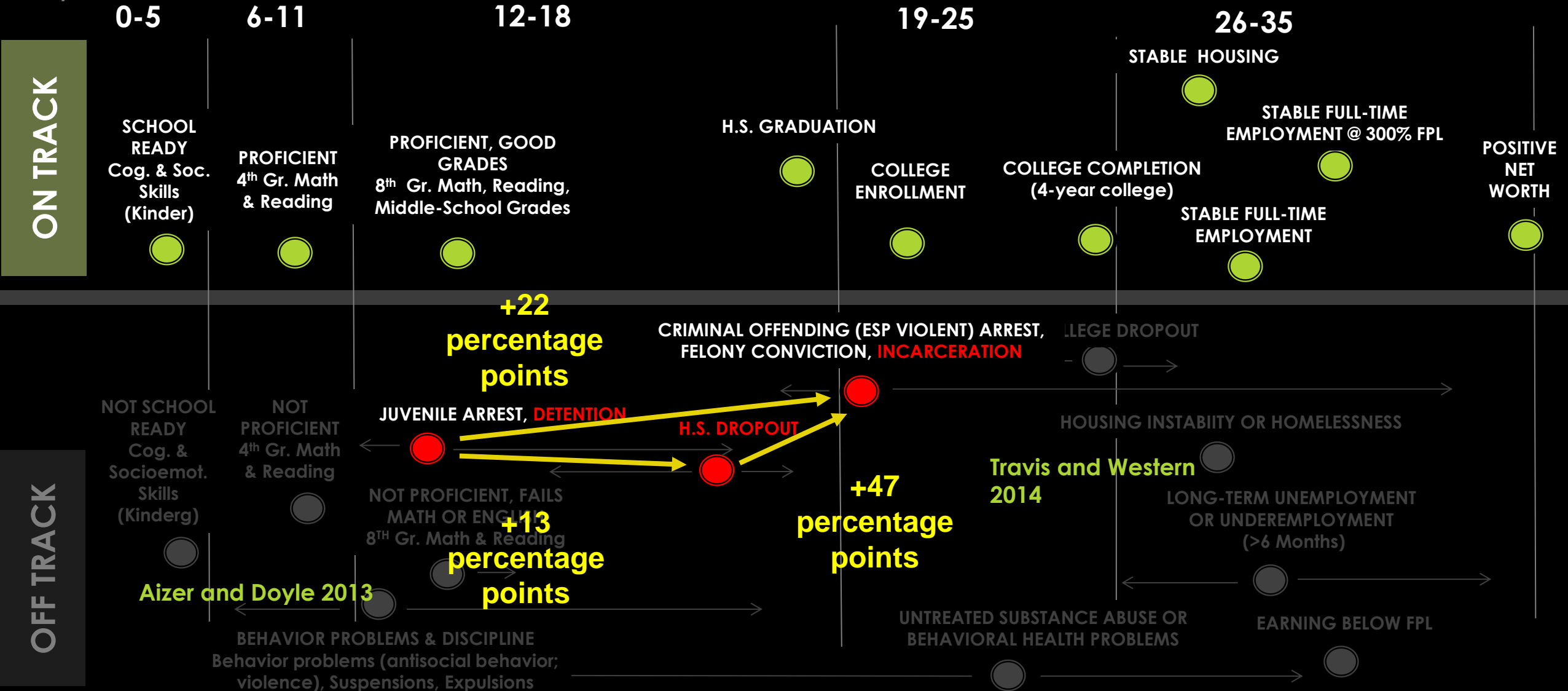
## Ecological/Contextual Factors

# Life Course Outcomes



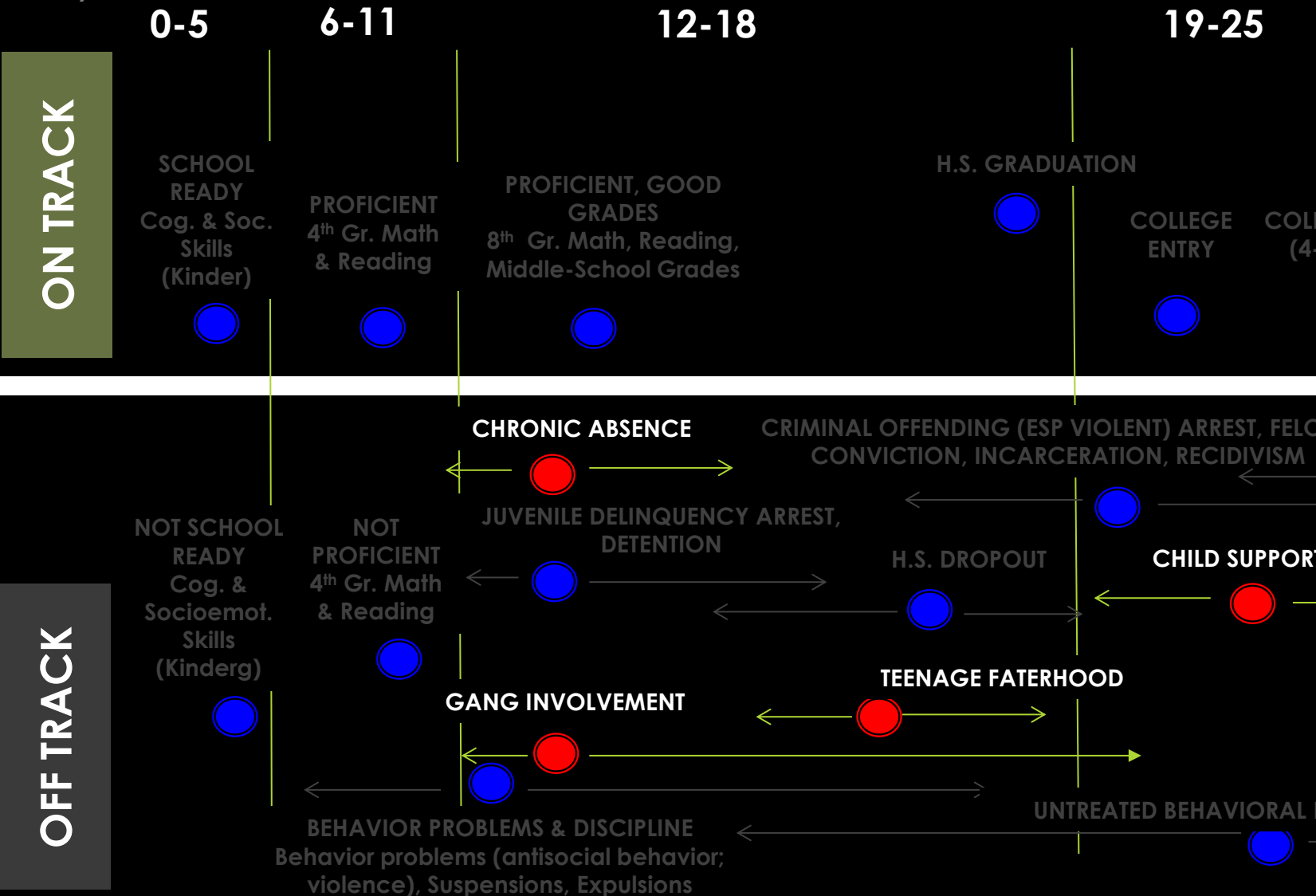
Society, Culture & History  
Institutions and Public Systems  
Place  
Peers, Mentors and Networks  
Schools and Childcare  
Family

# Life Course Outcomes



Society, Culture & History  
Institutions and Public Systems  
Place  
Peers, Mentors and Networks  
Schools and Childcare  
Family

# Life Course Outcomes

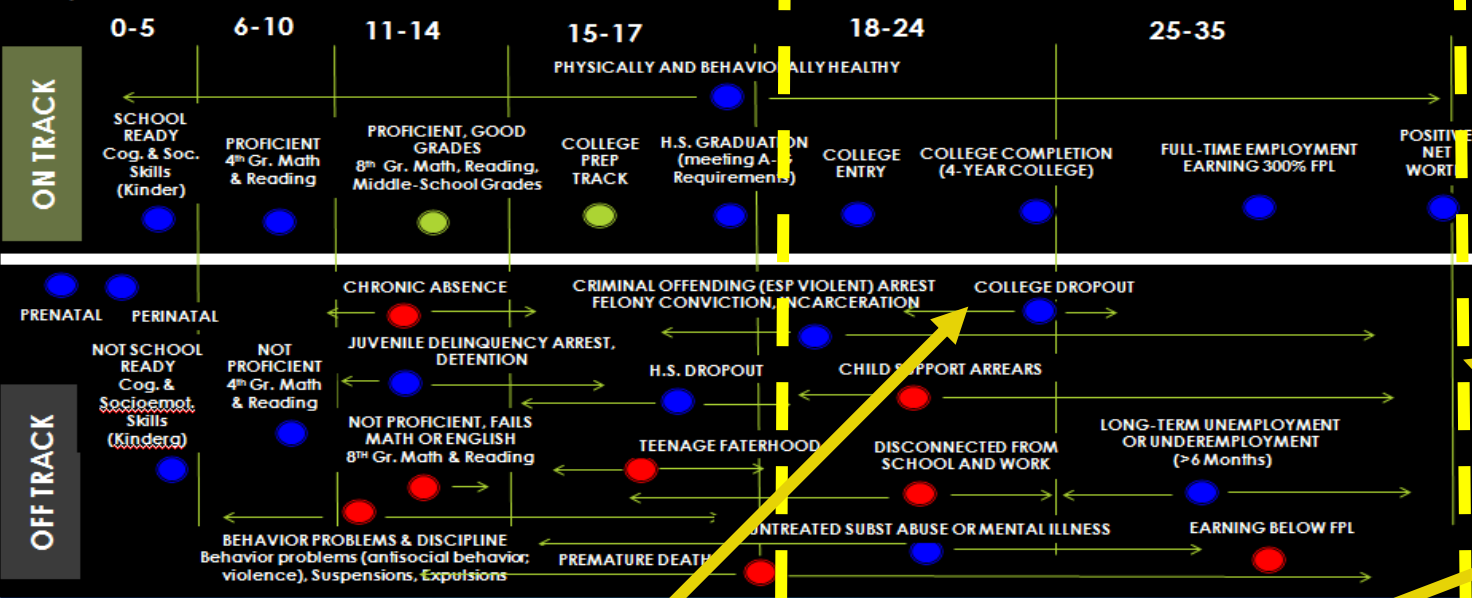


## Key Themes:

- **Earlier life outcomes affect later ones.**
- There is a need for interventions across the life course, not just early ones. **Early intervention is necessary, but not sufficient.**
- There are **“sensitive”** developmental periods for intervention
- **“Causal Density”**: Everything is related to everything else which makes “siloed” approaches ineffectual



Society  
Peers and Networks  
Place  
Schools and Systems  
Family

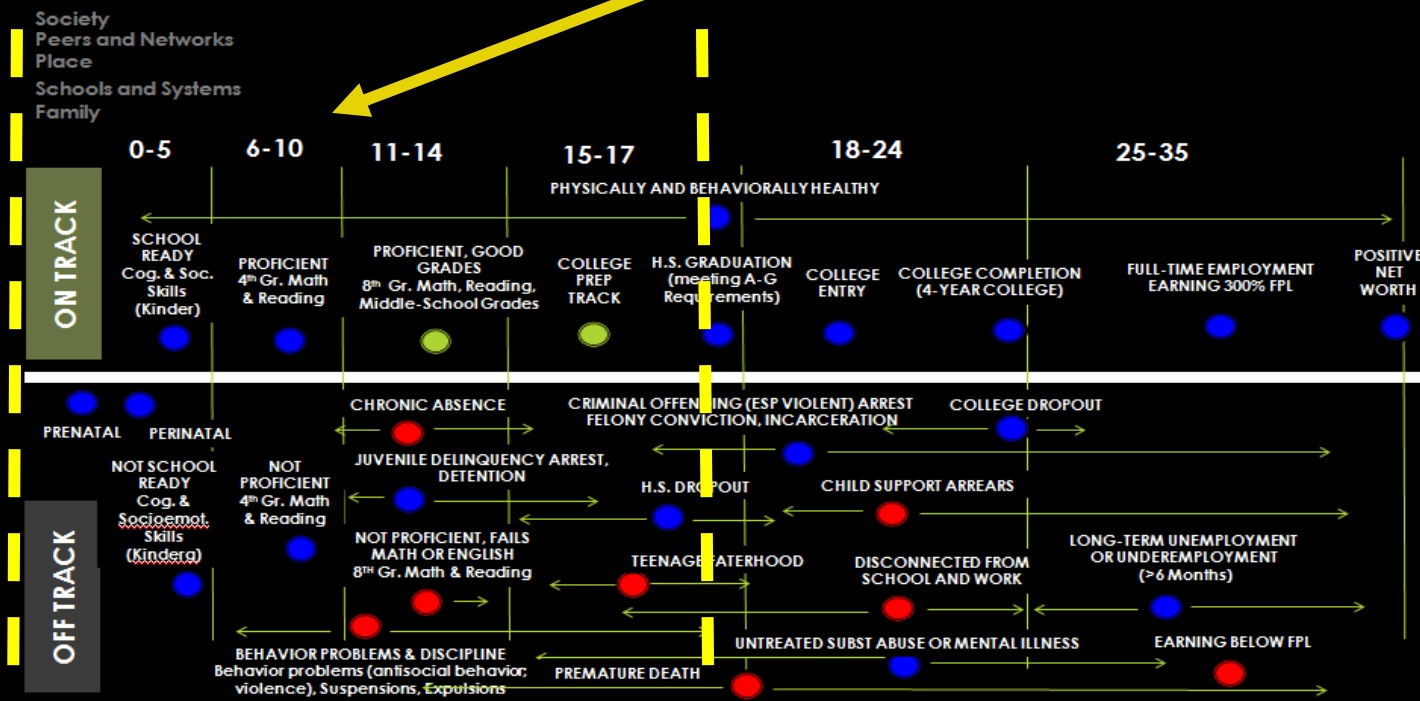


# Generationally Linked Life Courses: Adopting a Two-Generation Approach

## Father's Life Course (or Mother's)

While these are later life course interventions, they have early life course implications for the next generation.

Roughly 65% of black and Latino fathers have their first child before age 25. By age 30, roughly 85% of these fathers have had their first child. These fathers have 2 or fewer kids on average around 5 years apart. Thus, by age 35, a majority of the next generation has been born. [Martinez et al, 2012]



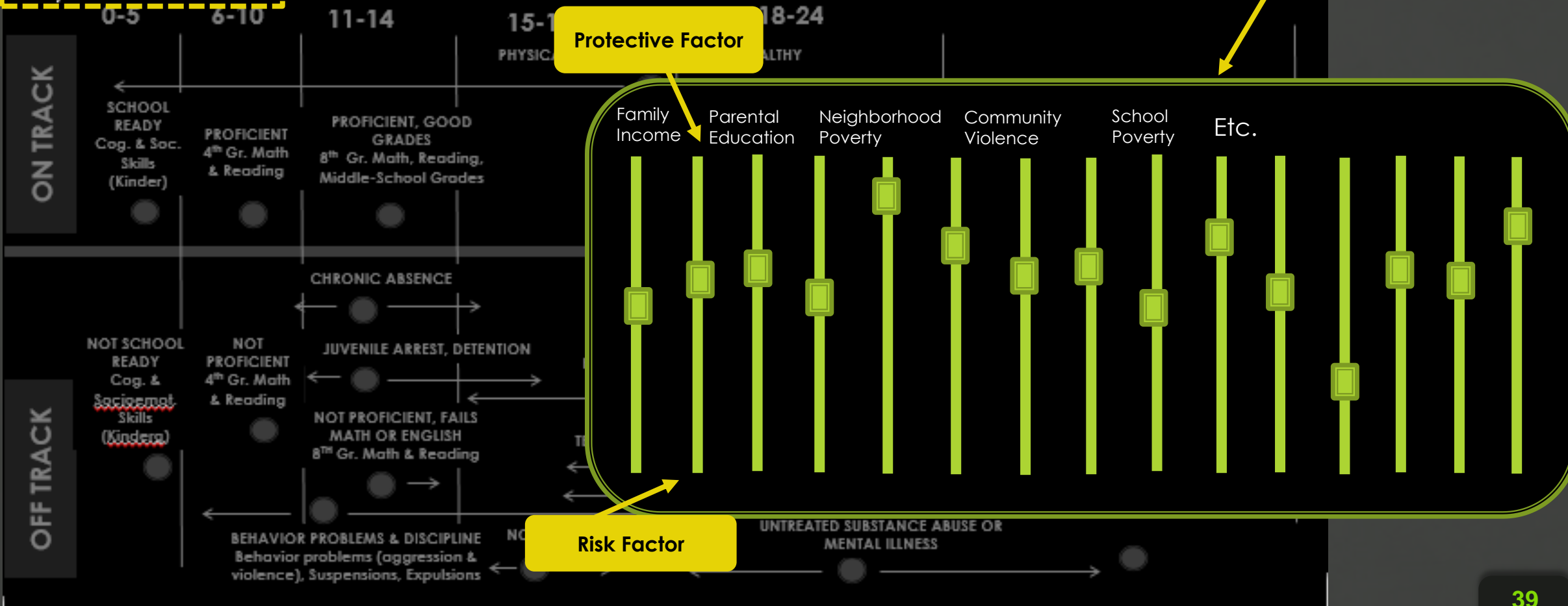
## Child's Life Course

# Ecological and Contextual Factors

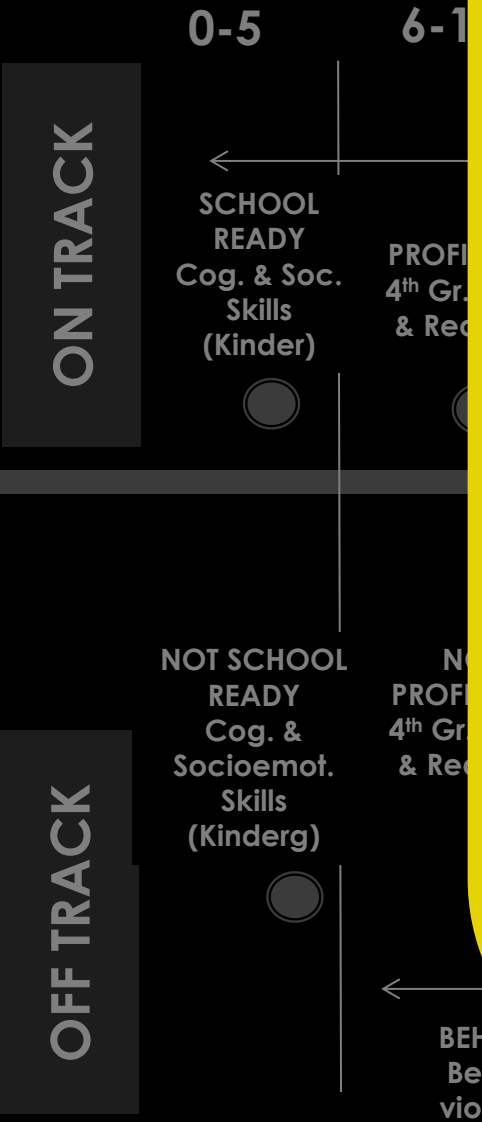
# Ecological and Contextual Factors

Society, Culture & History  
Institutions and Public Systems  
Place  
Peers, Mentors and Networks  
Schools and Childcare  
Family

Ecological and Contextual Factors can be



Society, Culture & History  
 Institutions and Public Systems  
 Place  
 Peers, Mentors and Networks  
 Schools and Childcare  
 Family



## FAMILY (and kinship networks inc. “fictive kin”)

- Race/Ethnicity
- Genetics
- Parental age at child’s birth
- Documentation Status
- Incarcerated Parent
- Parental death
- Parental behavioral health problem
- Language spoken at home
- Additional supportive persons (e.g. grandparents, aunts/uncles, fictive kin)

### Family Resources

- Pre-natal and neo-natal care
- Quality of early caregiving
- Food security
- Health insurance

- Parental Income and Wealth
- Parental Education
- Family structure and instability
- Housing stability/instability

### Parental Attention, Expectations, Skills

- Parental attention
- Parental Expectations
- Parenting skills, practices (e.g. harsh parenting) and beliefs

### Parental Social Support, Abuse/Neglect

- Child maltreatment: neglect/abuse (physical, emotional, sexual), domestic violence
- Foster Care Placement
- Parental Social Support (e.g. social networks, extended family)

## SCHOOLS AND CHILDCARE

- School System:** discipline practices (e.g. exclusionary discipline), resources, peer effects, teacher quality, developmental relationships, institutional practices (i.e. administration), classroom management, climate, instructional practices, curricula

- Childcare:** kin care, center-based child care, other care

ON TRACK

0-5 6-10

SCHOOL  
READY  
Cog. & Soc.  
Skills  
(Kinder)

PROFICIENT  
4<sup>th</sup> Gr. Math  
& Reading

NOT SCHOOL  
READY  
Cog. & Socioemot.  
Skills  
(Kinderg)

NOT  
PROFICIENT  
4<sup>th</sup> Gr. Math  
& Reading

JUVENILE ARREST, DETENTION

NOT PROFICIENT, FAILS  
MATH OR ENGLISH  
8<sup>TH</sup> Gr. Math & Reading

H.S. DROPOUT

CHILD SUPPORT ARREARS

TEENAGE FATHERHOOD

DISCONNECTED FROM  
SCHOOL AND WORK

EARNING BELOW FPL

BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS & DISCIPLINE  
Behavior problems (aggression & violence), Suspensions, Expulsions

NON-COLLEGE PREP TRACK

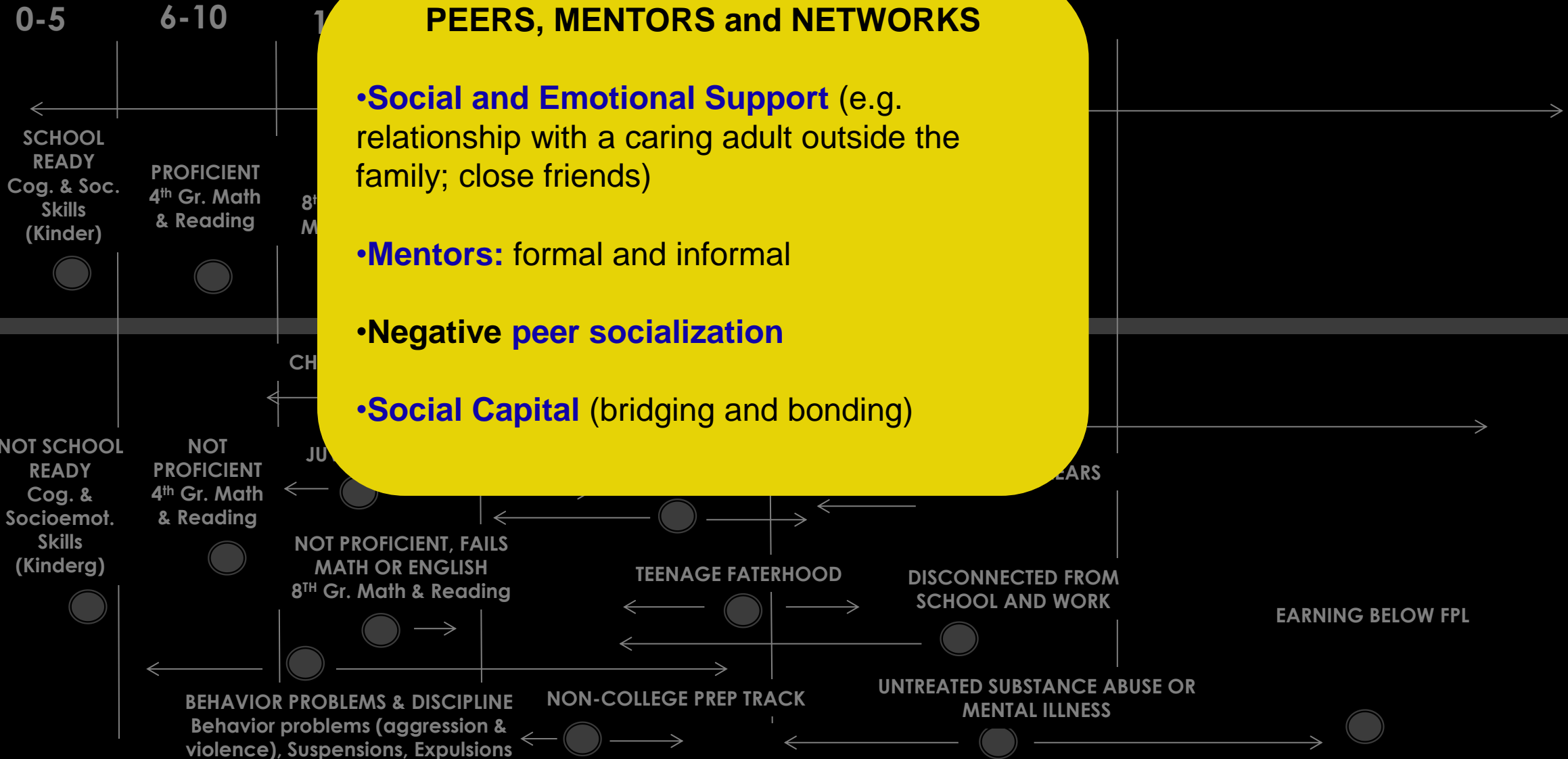
UNTREATED SUBSTANCE ABUSE OR  
MENTAL ILLNESS

OFF TRACK

Society, Culture & History  
Institutions and Public Systems  
Place  
**Peers, Mentors and Networks**  
Schools and Childcare  
Family

ON TRACK

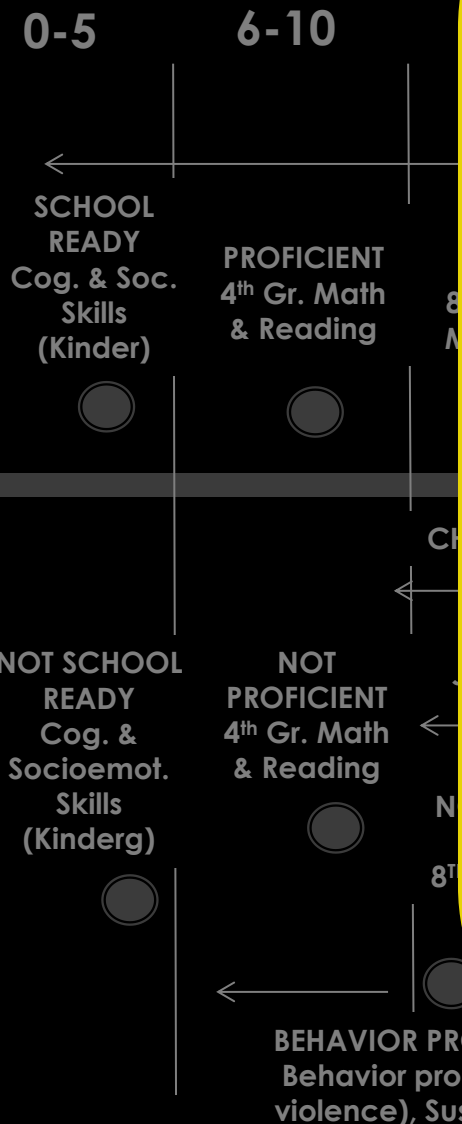
OFF TRACK



Place

ON TRACK

OFF TRACK



## PLACE (Neighborhoods, Places of Routine Activities and Metros)

- **Concentrated Disadvantage** and **Concentrated Affluence**
- **Violence and Crime**  
(victimization and secondary exposure)
- Racial **Segregation**/Social Isolation
- Street culture and underground economy
- Residential instability/"Coercive Mobility"
- **Employment opportunities/Labor Markets**
- **Housing quality/Neighborhood Deterioration** (e.g. uncollected garbage, abandonment)

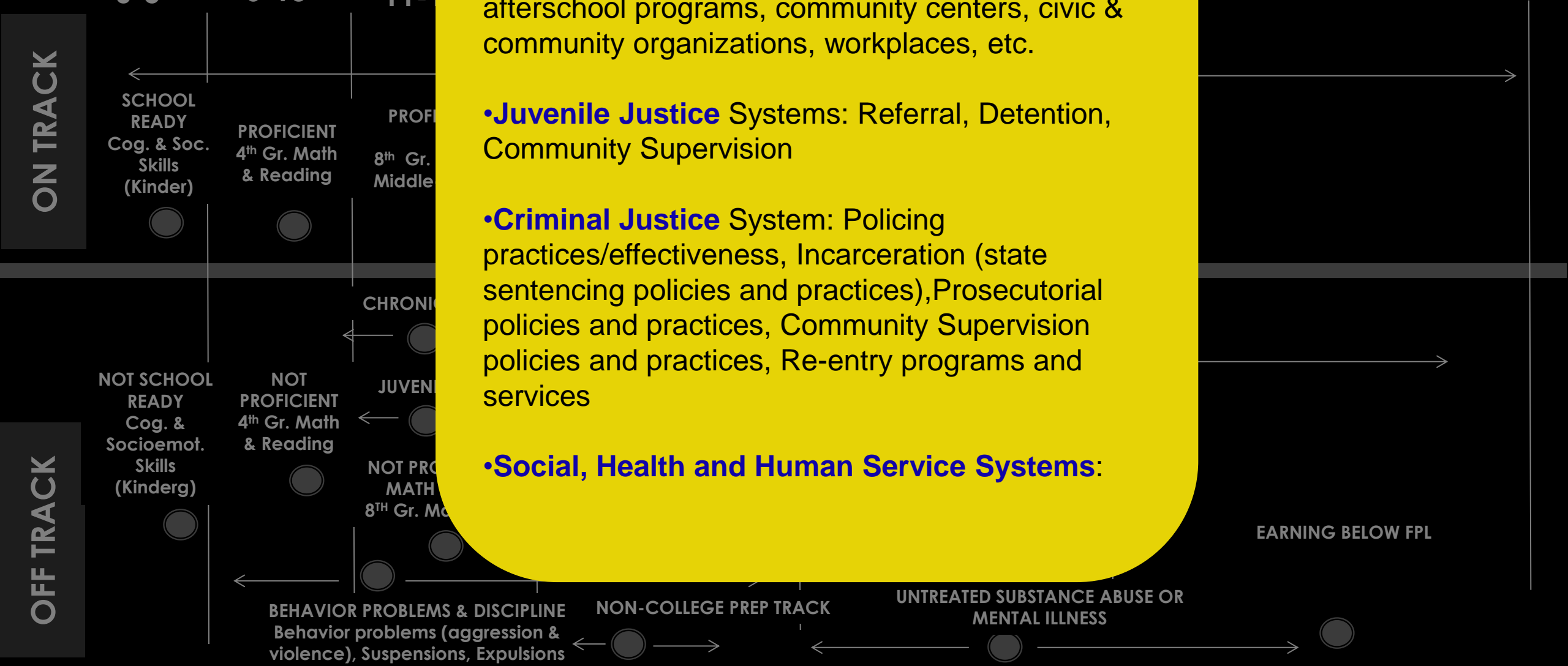
- **Neighborhood institutional infrastructure** (e.g. CBOs, Nonprofit service providers, organizers)
- **Social capital and community involvement**
- Neighborhood **collective efficacy**
- **Toxic substance** exposure
- **Policing**: place-focused law enforcement practices and tactics (e.g. aggressive street drug enforcement, racial profiling, stop-and-frisk)
- Church
- Day care/After School Programs
- Shopping Centers
- **Metro-level income and racial segregation, inequality and intergenerational mobility**



Society, Culture & History  
Institutions and Public Systems  
Place  
Peers, Mentors and Networks  
Schools and Childcare  
Family

## INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC SYSTEMS

- Neighborhood and Community Institutions:** afterschool programs, community centers, civic & community organizations, workplaces, etc.
- Juvenile Justice** Systems: Referral, Detention, Community Supervision
- Criminal Justice** System: Policing practices/effectiveness, Incarceration (state sentencing policies and practices),Prosecutorial policies and practices, Community Supervision policies and practices, Re-entry programs and services
- Social, Health and Human Service Systems:**



## Society, Culture & History

Institutions and Public Systems

Place

Peers, Mentors and Networks

Schools and Childcare

Family

ON TRACK

0-5

6-10

SCHOOL  
READY  
Cog. & Soc.  
Skills  
(Kinder)

PROFICIENT  
4<sup>th</sup> Gr. Math  
& Reading

NOT SCHOOL  
READY  
Cog. &  
Socioemot.  
Skills  
(Kinderg)

NOT  
PROFICIENT  
4<sup>th</sup> Gr. Math  
& Reading

BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS  
Behavior problems  
(e.g., aggression, violence), Suspensions, etc.

## SOCIETY, CULTURE & HISTORY

- Implicit bias and explicit bias
- Market-based racial and gender discrimination:

- labor market
- housing
- retail
- financial

- Legal and law-enforcement discrimination
- Educational Discrimination
- Legacy of all past forms of discrimination

### Macro-Trends

- Demographic change (e.g. immigration)
- Rise and Decline in Violence and crime
- Rise in Mass Incarceration
- Rise in Income inequality
- Rise in Income segregation (e.g. concentrated poverty & concentrated affluence)
- Decline in Male Employment and Earnings
- Deindustrialization

### •Political Economy Shifts

- Rise of Neo-liberalism

- Gender norms: patriarchal forms of masculinity and gender relations

OFF TRACK



## Key Takeaways from the life course framework for intervention strategy

1. **Changing conditions** (and removing barriers) confronting BMOC through **policy and systems change**
  - Focused on State & Local with some Federal Policy change
  - Tie savings from punishment reform to “reinvestment”
2. Help children become more **resilient** to bad conditions through **applying programs, services and practices** that we know work for males of color
3. **Both are indispensable!**

# Key Takeaways: Intervention Principles

- Must adopt **a life-course approach**:
  - **Early predicts/causes later** through patterns of cumulative advantage/disadvantage
  - **Intervention is necessary across the life course**: early intervention is necessary but not sufficient
  - **Timing Matters**: there are sensitive periods for intervention
  - **History matters**: the legacy of past inequalities shape current realities
  - **Agency matters**: environments shape people and people shape environments
  - **Equifinality**: There are multiple pathways to the same negative outcome (often fewer ones to a positive outcome)
- **Causal Density**: Everything is related to everything else which makes “siloe” approaches ineffectual
- **Dual Generation**: Tying interventions together that change outcomes for children and parents simultaneously
- **Gender-Specificity**: That is “gender-specific” in its analysis of causes, correlates and solutions
- **Support Successful Pathways**: Prevent off-ramp pathways and create recovery pathways
- **Balance social control vs. social support** for producing key outcomes





# Contact

---

Arnold Chandler | [Arnold@arnoldchandler.com](mailto:Arnold@arnoldchandler.com)

[www.forwardchangeconsulting.com](http://www.forwardchangeconsulting.com)

# Citations

Anna Aizer and Joseph J. Doyle Jr. (2013) “Juvenile Incarceration, Human Capital and Future Crime: Evidence from Randomly-Assigned Judges.” Working Paper 19102, National Bureau of Economic Research. Available online at <http://www.nber.org/papers/w19102>.

Margery Austin-Turner et al (2014) *Tackling Persistent Poverty in Distressed Urban Neighborhoods History, Principles, and Strategies for Philanthropic Investment*. Urban Institute

David Autor, David Figlio, Krzysztof Karbownik, Jeffrey Roth, Melanie Wasserman (2015) *Family Disadvantage and the Gender Gap in Behavioral and Educational Outcomes*, Working Paper 15-16 , Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University

David Autor and Melanie Wasserman (2012) *Wayward Sons: The Emerging Gender Gap in Labor Markets and Education*, The Third Way. Available at <http://www.thirdway.org/publications/662>

Sandy Baum, Jennifer Ma and Kathleen Payea (2013) *Education Pays 2013: The Benefits of Higher Education for Individuals and Society*. The College Board

Marianne Bertrand and Jessica Pan (2011), *The Trouble with Boys: Social Influences and the Gender Gap in Disruptive Behavior*, NBER Working Paper No. 17541, National Bureau of Economic Research. Available at: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w17541>

Claudia Buchman and Thomas A. DiPrete (2006) “The Growing Female Advantage in College Completion: The Role of Family Background and Academic Achievement,” *American Sociological Review*, 71 (4), pp. 515–541.

# Citations

Centers for Disease Control (2010) "Homicide Rates Among Persons Ages 10–24 Years, by Race/Ethnicity and Sex, United States". Available at [http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/youthviolence/stats\\_at-a\\_glance/hr\\_age-race.html](http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/youthviolence/stats_at-a_glance/hr_age-race.html)

Andrew J. Cherlin (2014) *Labor's Love Lost: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class Family in America*. Russell Sage Foundation

Susan Clampet-Lundquist et al (2011) "Moving Teenagers out of High Risk Neighborhoods: How Girls Fare Better than Boys" *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 116 Number 4 (January 2011): 1154–89

Todd Clear (2007) *Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse*. NY: Oxford University Press.

Deborah A. Cobb-Clark (2011) "Fathers and Youth's Delinquent Behavior," Working Paper 17507, National Bureau of Economic Research. Available at: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w17507>.

David J. Deming (2014) "School Choice, School Quality, and Postsecondary Attainment". *American Economic Review*. 104(3): 991–1013

Michael Greenstone and Adam Looney (2012) "The Impact of Economic and Technological Change on Marriage Rates", The Hamilton Project.

Candace Hamilton Hester, Chris Meyer, and Steven Raphael (2012) "The Evolution of Gender Employment Rate Differentials within Racial Groups in the United States", *The Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (June 2012), pp. 385-418  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/667578>.



# Citations

Brian A. Jacob (2002) "Where the Boys Aren't: Non-cognitive Skills, Returns to School and the Gender Gap in Higher Education" *Economics of Education Review*, 21: 589–598.

Brian L. Jacob and Tamara Linkow Wilder (2011) "Educational Expectations and Attainment," in Greg J Duncan and Richard J Murnane, eds., *Whither Opportunity*, Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 133–162.

Guyonne Kalb and Jennny Williams (2003) "Gender and Delinquency", *Applied Economics Letters*, 2003, 10, 425–429

Rose M. Kreider and Renee Ellis (2011) "Living Arrangements of Children: 2009," Current Population Reports, P70-126. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.

John M. Leventhal, Julie R. Gaither and Robert Sege (2014) "Hospitalizations Due to Firearm Injuries in Children and Adolescents", *Pediatrics*; originally published online January 27, 2014: Available at <http://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/early/2014/01/22/peds.2013-1809>

Gladys Martinez, Kimberly Daniels, and Anjani Chandra (2012), *Fertility of Men and Women Aged 15–44 Years in the United States: National Survey of Family Growth, 2006–2010*, National Health Statistics Report

Douglas S. Massey (2007) *Categorically Unequal: The American Stratification System*. Russell Sage Foundation

Richard J. Murnane (2013) *U.S High School Graduation Rates: Patterns and Explanations*, NBER Working Paper No. 18701. Available at: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w18701>

# Citations

Derek Neal and Armin Rick (2014) The Prison Boom and the Lack of Black Progress after Smith and Welch, NBER Working Paper No. 20283. Available at: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w20283>

Pew Center on the States (2010) Prison Count 2010: State Population Declines for the First Time in 38 Years. Available online at: [http://www.pewtrusts.org/~media/legacy/uploadedfiles/wwwpewtrustsorg/reports/sentencing\\_and\\_corrections/PrisonCount2010pdf.pdf](http://www.pewtrusts.org/~media/legacy/uploadedfiles/wwwpewtrustsorg/reports/sentencing_and_corrections/PrisonCount2010pdf.pdf)

John Pfaff (2011) The Causes of Growth in Prison Admissions and Population Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1884674> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1884674>

Steven Raphael (2007) “Early Incarceration Spells and the Transition to Adulthood,” in Danziger, Sheldon and Cecilia Elena Rouse (eds) *The Price of Independence: The Economics of Early Adulthood*, Russell Sage Foundation: New York pp. 278-306.

Jeremy Travis and Bruce Western (2014) *Growth of incarceration in the United States: The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences*. National Academies Press. Available at: [http://www.nap.edu/catalog.php?record\\_id=18613](http://www.nap.edu/catalog.php?record_id=18613)

Jonathan Vespa, Jamie M. Lewis, and Rose M. Kreider (2013) *America’s Families and Living Arrangements: 2012 Population Characteristics*. U.S. Census Bureau

Sara Wakfield and Christopher Wildeman (2013) *Children of the Prison Boom: Mass Incarceration and the Future of American Inequality*. Oxford University Press

# Citations

William Julius Wilson (1996) *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. Knopf Doubleday

John Winters and Barry T. Hirsch (2013) “An Anatomy of Racial and Ethnic Trends in Male Earnings.” *Review of Income and Wealth*. Available online at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/roiw.12064/abstract>

Justin Wolfers, David Leonhardt, Kevin Quealy (2015) “1.5 Million Missing Black Men” New York Times, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2015.  
[http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/04/20/upshot/missing-black-men.html?emc=edit\\_th\\_20150421&nl=todaysheadlines&nlid=38700727&abt=0002&abg=1&\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/04/20/upshot/missing-black-men.html?emc=edit_th_20150421&nl=todaysheadlines&nlid=38700727&abt=0002&abg=1&_r=1)